

# WORKERS' AGE

A WEEKLY NEWSPAPER DEFENDING THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKERS AND FARMERS

VOL. 2, — No. 1.

NEW YORK, N. Y., OCTOBER 15, 1932.

PRICE 5 CENTS

## Unite and Strengthen Our Party!

### Forward With Opposition Struggle!

### NAZIS TRY NEW "LEFT" MOVE

#### Launch Mock Attack On Reaction

Berlin, Germany.

A great amount of political confusion dominates the scene as the various political forces are beginning feverish preparations for the Reichstag elections on November 6.

The Nazis are making a sensational "turn to the left." Hitler has fully realized that the short period of semi-tolerance of the von Papen regime recently, reacted very seriously against the Nazis in alienating large sections of the Nazi following and causing loud murmurs within Nazi ranks. As a consequence the new Nazi slogan has become: Brush away the small clique of titled reactionaries! At the same time, prominent titled Nazis, headed by Count Helldorff and Baron von Wendell, have issued a manifesto urging the nobility to rally behind Adolf Hitler.

In an immediate sense the whole political struggle seems to be essentially a duel between the Junker-militarist clique of von Papen supported by Hugenberg, and the Fascist movement under Hitler, between the two antagonistic forces in the camp of extreme nationalist reaction. But in a real sense the present period is a final test of strength between the forces of reaction with the Nazis as their spearhead, on the one hand, and the German labor movement on the other. Unfortunately, the anti-Fascist forces of the labor movement are divided, dispersed and demoralized, owing both to the reformist surrender policy of the Social-democrats and to the suicidal sectarian tactics of the official Communist Party.

The Social-democrats are executing a "left" maneuver. After having "tolerated" the Brüning emergency decree regime and having helped to elect the poisonous reactionary, von Hindenburg, as Reichs-President, the Social-democratic party is now trying to save itself by parading around in mock militancy.

The Communist Party, after a short-lived attempt to correct some of its crudest sectarian mistakes, has now relapsed in the worst way. The party press and agitation are again assuming the aspect of the most hectic "third period" days of 1930. The recent partial election victory has unquestionably gone to the heads of the leaders.

MOSCOW.—The production of agricultural machinery has taken a tremendous spurt in the last three months, almost fulfilling the Summer program. This extraordinarily successful development of the agricultural machinery industry is laying the basis for the complete economic reconstruction of agriculture upon a collective socialist basis.

The situation in which our movement finds itself today should spur every Communist, every revolutionary worker, to serious thought and action. Taking advantage of the most acute crisis ever known in the history of the country, the capitalists have unleashed a fierce attack upon the workers, their organizations, their standards, their very existence. Twelve millions are now unemployed, and millions more on part-time. The wage-cutting drive has already passed through several waves, each growing in extent and viciousness. Once powerful unions are crumbling away, undetermined from within by false leaders and shattered from without by the blows of trust capital. Hunger and misery stalk the land—the meager machinery of relief has broken down—but the answer of the capitalists and their government is: AID FOR THE BANKS, RAILROADS, THE TRUSTS! STARVATION AND BULLETS FOR THE POOR!

In the ranks of the workers, the spirit of unrest, of protest, even of bitter anger, is growing. The spontaneous eruption of the veterans, organized in the bonus march, showed the mood of the backward masses. Among large sections of the unemployed, a certain fermentation, in many cases approaching conscious militancy, is to be seen. Courageous and bitter struggles against wage-cuts have broken out in various parts of the country. Of tremendous significance is the gathering sentiment in the ranks of the labor movement in favor of compulsory Federal unemployment insurance and of independent working class political action, a sentiment strong enough to shake even the hardened officials of the A. F. of L.

The possibilities for the most determined resistance to the capitalist offensive, for a pronounced leftward movement in the ranks of labor, are present. Yet the sober truth is that the general discontent has not risen to the level of action, that the labor movement today is divided, demoralized, confused, apathetic. To us class-conscious workers this situation must be a stinging reproach and challenge!

The weakness of resistance of the working class in the face of the bosses offensive is to be traced to a large extent to the bankruptcy of leadership in the labor movement. There is no force in the labor movement today able to unite, to inspire, to drive forward the spontaneous and localized actions of the workers, to help translate into action the rebellious mood of the masses. The A. F. of L. leaders have played true to their role as labor lieutenants of the capitalists and have done their best to hamstring, sabotage, even defeat whatever struggles have taken place. The Socialist party, corrupted at its heart by the fatal poison of reformism, has been their weak echo.

AND THE COMMUNIST PARTY, FROM WHOM THE WORKERS HAD THE RIGHT TO EXPECT EFFECTIVE LEADERSHIP IN THIS CRISIS, HAS ITSELF SURRENDERED THE OPPORTUNITY AND HAS COMPLETELY FAILED TO MEASURE UP TO THE HISTORICAL TASKS FACING IT. Owing to its utter sectarian tactics, it has intensified confusion, multiplied division, discredited militancy, isolated the Communists from the masses of the workers.

It was in resistance to this suicidal sectarianism that the Communist Opposition arose in this country, as in the rest of the world, and it is to the restoration of the unity and fighting power of the Communist movement that it has dedicated its struggle from the very first. The second national conference of the Communist Party of the U. S. A. (Opposition), that took place a short time ago (September 3, 4 and 5), gave striking testimony to the fact that the vitality of the Opposition forces and the determination of the Opposition struggle have not been sapped by three years of hard fighting and by three years of bitter defeats for the Communist movement as a whole. The spirit of political vigor and realistic self-criticism which dominated the conference and of which it was the expression are the promise that the devastating crisis in which the revolutionary movement is today will be overcome and that Communism will emerge from it ready to take its place as the vanguard of the working class.

The second national conference of the American Communist Opposition, in approving the decisions of the International Communist Opposition conference held a little while before in Berlin, strongly reiterated our basic and determining attitude to the Communist International and to the official Communist Parties—that our objective is not to destroy and replace them but

(Continued on page 2)



### THE BIG DRIVE IS ON!

Beginning now and concluding December 15, all our efforts, all the energies of our readers and our supporters, must be concentrated upon building up the circulation of the "Age." Our big slogan is

**1,000 New Readers by December 15**

To accomplish this means to strengthen the base of our paper and to prepare the way for its most rapid return to a weekly.

During this drive our sub rates will be especially low

**\$1.00 a Year -- 50 Cents for Six Months**

The price will go up on December 15. So get on the job now!

To put over the Drive, we must all get to work on two things: (1) Get subs; and (2) increase the bundle order sale of the "Age."

**Subscribe at Once!**

**Lovestone**

**Speaks Fri. Oct. 7 - 228 2nd Ave.  
"I Saw in Europe" 8 p. m.**

### NEW ADMISSION CLEARS MOONEY

#### Oregon Man Confesses He Placed Bomb

PORTLAND, Ore.—The local paper, "The Oregonian," of September 28 carries a signed statement by Paul M. Callicotte, a mountaineer, declaring that he was the man who placed the suitcase bomb in the San Francisco Preparedness Day parade on July 22, 1916, for which Tom Mooney and Warren Billings were convicted and sentenced to life imprisonment.

Callicotte, who was 16 years of age at the time, declares that he was paid \$5 by some unknown person. He says he placed the suitcase at the point where the explosion took place later on. He was too young then, he says, to bother very much about responsibility but now he wants to get the matter "off his chest."

Whether Callicotte turns out to be linked up with the explosion or not, it has been quite clear for many years that Mooney and Billings are completely innocent of the act charged them. These two militant labor leaders were arrested and railroaded to a living death precisely because of their militancy and devotion to labor. Only the power of labor can drag them out of their prison cells.

### NOTED ANTI-FASCIST ON TOUR HERE

Great interest is being manifested in intellectual and working class circles in this country in the visit to this country of E. J. Gumbel, prominent German scientist and radical social thinker, recently ousted from his position as associate professor in the Heidelberg University thru pressure of the Nazis.

Gumbel, who is just over 40 years of age, is a mathematician and statistician by profession. The war made him a pacifist and brought him close to the labor movement. He has written a large number of technical works, some of them during his stay at the Marx-Engels Institute in Moscow; he has also published a good deal of valuable material on social questions, especially on the Nazis. His exposures of the Nazi murder system are considered classics. As a result of his social activities, he not only met with academic persecutions but was also subjected to a trial for high treason, all of which ended in nothing. In August 1932 he lost his position in Heidelberg as a direct result of Nazi attacks. He is now a marked man in Germany and his name is on the Nazi murder list.

During his stay in this country Professor Gumbel is speaking before a number of organizations. His visit to this country should be made the occasion for the initiation of a movement in this country in support of the struggle against Fascism in Germany and in aid of the many victims of the Nazi terror.



# The News in Brief

AT HOME

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ABROAD

**ALBANY.**—After an almost complete rout of Tammany forces at the State Democratic convention here at the hands of a faction led by Smith-Roosevelt block, Herbert H. Lehman was nominated for Governor on October 4. At Buffalo, the Republican State convention named Colonel Wm. J. Donovan.

**NEW YORK CITY.**—In an opinion handed down on September 21, Judge McGeenan decided against a special election this year to fill the vacancy created by the resignation of ex-Mayor Walker. According to the decision, Mayor McKee is to serve until January 1, 1934. This constitutes a victory for the Roosevelt forces and a defeat for Tammany. An appeal is to be made.

Meanwhile McKee is continuing his drive to put himself on the municipal map. "Economy" is now his main issue. He is proposing an all-around wage-cut from 5% to 20% for municipal employees earning more than \$2,000 a year. The Tammany leaders urge a "modification" of the city's subway policy, that is, an increase of subway fare. Either proposal is essentially an attempt to obey the dictates of the big bankers who control the financial life of this city.

**WASHINGTON.**—A brutal attack on the already heavily burdened farmers was made here on September 24 in the ruling of the Department of Agriculture that purchasers of crops mortgaged to the government for loans must pay the amount of indebtedness direct to the department before any payment is made to the farmer. Thus, many farmers selling grain or produce in the present greatly depreciated market will face the prospect of receiving little or no cash in return, all money going to the Federal government!

These Federal loans to farmers have been advertised far and wide as a form of "farm relief," as the Hoover method of "aiding the farmers"; they now turn out to be only another way of robbing the farmer and worsening his already desperate position.

In an attempt to head off the inevitable resentment against Secretary Hyde's ruling, President Hoover announced on September 28 that the government would collect only 25% of the loans to wheat farmers until Congress meets in December and decides what shall be done with the rest. Cotton, tobacco and the other big crops are not considered at all and even for the wheat farmers this ruling is cold comfort since they find it impossible to pay any proportion whatever of their crop debts this year.

**ATLANTA, Ga.**—The "holiday" movement has been making considerable headway in this State among the dairy farmers. In spite of injunctions readily issued by the courts against the "strikers" the farmers have organized effective picketing of roads leading into this city.

**TROY, N. Y.**—The Socialist Party of Rensselaer county has endorsed the candidacies of County Judge James F. Brearton, County Commissioner of Public Welfare Edward Ott and the four coroners nominated by the Democratic party for these offices, according to the results of the primaries held on September 1. The endorsement of these politicians was urged by the S. P. committee and no opposing candidates were put up but even in the case of State senator and county treasurer, where the S. P. put forward its own nominees, it is likely that the Democratic candidates will win their place on the Socialist ticket because of the large number of "Socialists" who wrote in the names of these Democratic politicians on the primary ballots!

## Unite and Strengthen Our Party

(Continued from page 1)  
to turn their course back to the line of Leninism, to restore their unity and fighting power. It made clear our fundamental opposition to centrism and emphasized the necessity of flexible tactics in dealing with centrist organizations and stimulating the movement of the workers in their towards Communism. It re-examined the Trotskyist tendency in the light of new developments, laid bare its errors in principle and tactics and sharply condemned its recent unprincipled flirtations with centrism. It proclaimed our full endorsement of the general course of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in socialist construction but strongly criticized the destructive and factional inner-party regime of the leadership of that party.

Leninist realism and sober self-criticism characterized the mood of the conference in dealing with the experiences, work and tasks of the Opposition. Our great short-comings were laid bare, our mistakes were analyzed, but the conference noted that our general line had been completely confirmed by the development of the class struggle, here and abroad. Our program of action, based upon our fundamental objective of reorganizing, re-educating, strengthening and extending the Communist cadres that are being dispersed and demoralized by the false tactics and oppressive regime of the official Communist Party, was the natural outcome of a conference whose constructive character and political force have rarely been equaled in gatherings of a similar nature.

The conference also focused attention upon the burning need of uniting and strengthening the labor movement and of rebuilding the left wing within it. It placed in the foreground of the work of the Communist Opposition three chief mass campaigns: to mobilize the unemployed workers, together with the employed, on an effective program of unemployment relief and to build the organizations of the unemployed; to rally the American workers in support of the struggle against Fascism in Europe, and especially in Germany, and in aid to the victims of the Fascist terror; and to intensify the struggle to rebuild the left and progressive movement in the trade unions.

The conference strongly emphasized the necessity of redoubling our efforts, of concentrating our forces, to put a quick end to the impotence and sterility of the Communist Party, to transform it once more into a united, fighting party capable of supplying the masses with the leadership for which there is such crying need today. This task is the task of every Communist, of every revolutionary worker, whether today supporting the Opposition or not. It is the task of every one who sees and understands the supreme need of the moment.

Members and supporters of the Communist Opposition! For you the second national conference should be a call to more determined action, to higher discipline, to greater sacrifices! Upon you rests decisive responsibility for the future of Communism in this country!

Members of the Communist Party! Comrades! Our struggle is yours also—a struggle to save our party! To be a Communist does not mean to be merely a card-holder; it means to look things squarely in the face, to decide what is of interest to our class and our Party and to fight unafraid for our convictions in the spirit of Lenin! Have the courage to speak up for and defend what you know to be right in the party! Upon you too rests decisive responsibility for the future of Communism.

Revolutionary workers! You realize that a strong and politically effective Communist Party is a life-and-death necessity for the struggle of the proletariat for emancipation. Are you not ready to strike a blow in the fight to make our Communist Party such a party? Support the struggle of the Communist Opposition! Upon you too, altho you may not be members of the party, rests decisive responsibility for the future of Communism in this country! The second conference sounded

## World of Labor

### The New Wage-Cut Offensive

The last few weeks have witnessed a new wave of attempted wage-cuts on the part of the bosses and, what is most encouraging, an answering wave of resistance on the part of the workers. And in spite of the fact that the defense action of the unions has been largely unprepared and often hesitating, it has succeeded in beating back, temporarily at least, the employers' attacks on the most important fronts and in greatly encouraging the workers for future decisive struggles.

Sharp resentment was expressed in railroad union circles at the insolent proposal of the railroad companies not only to make permanent the "temporary" 10% wage-cut of last December but also to pile on top of it another 10% cut. At the same time came the demand of the Anthracite coal companies to reduce wages to the 1913 scale. In the soft-coal regions of Ohio, Illinois and Indiana, the operators are engaged in a vicious drive to put over the \$5 scale, representing a wage-cut of 20% to 25%. In the steel industry there has been a general wage-cut of 10%. The drive against wages has not been limited to the basic industries. The New York job printers are faced with a 17% slash. In the textile mills, in the restaurants and hotels, and in a number of public utilities, savage cuts in wages have been put thru one after the other in the last few weeks.

But at the present time the resentment of the masses of the workers, their spirit of resistance to the offensive of the capitalists, has begun to make itself felt. And under pressure of the rank and file, the union leaders, no matter how conservative, cannot continue with their surrender policies in the old unvarnished form. The railroad union executives, who gave in so easily last year, have even refused to talk about the new wage-cuts. The printers union adopted an even more uncompromising stand. And even the notorious Lewis found it necessary to put up a front in negotiations with the Anthracite operators in New York City. In the soft-coal regions, where the sell-out was especially shameful and where U.M.W.A. officials and operators combined to put over the \$5 scale, the spirited revolt of the miners is a sufficient indication of their sentiments. It is only unfortunate that this revolt has taken the form of a split and the establishment of a dual union instead of having contributed to the strengthening of the left wing movement. The unexpected resistance of the unions, coupled with the fact that

the coming Presidential elections would make any big strikes very inconvenient for the Administration (witness Hoover's appeal that the railroad wage-cut be withheld until next January!), put a spoke in the wheel of the bosses and they are becoming convinced that it will not be as easy to get away with it today as it was a year or two ago. So far neither the railroad, nor the Anthracite, nor the printers wage-cut has been put over.

But the workers must not depend too much upon the sudden conversion to "militancy" of such leaders as Lewis. The officials have to change their tune because they cannot fly in the face of the increasing militancy of the membership. Only the strengthening and organization of the militant spirit into a powerful progressive movement in the trade unions can be the guarantee that labor will be able to beat back the vicious assault of the bosses.

### LOCAL 1 LEAGUE FOR UNITED ACTION

New York City.  
The United Progressive League of Local 1, I.L.G.W.U., issued, on September 23, an appeal to the Left Group, the T.U.U.L. organization, in that local, urging the creation of a "united left and progressive power in the union." After emphasizing how important such a united front is, especially at the present time, describing the terrible conditions in the trade, and pointing out the necessity of mobilizing the membership "for an energetic campaign against the savage greed of the jobbers and other bosses," the appeal sharply criticizes the policies of the leaders of the union which are leaving the workers defenseless against the bosses. "These leaders are able to shirk responsibility because there is no united progressive force to make clear to the leaders that the union is not their property, and that if they cannot or will not carry on work in the interests of the cloakmakers, we will send them where they belong."

The appeal calls upon the Left Group "to choose a committee . . . to meet with a committee of our league for the purpose of working out a basis for unity . . . on a program of action."

The appeal is signed by L. Kleinman, secretary, and I. Stenzor, organizer.

### ILL. RIVAL UNIONS IN CLASH

SPRINGFIELD, Ill.—One man was killed and about twenty wounded here on September 25 in a clash between the supporters of the United Mine Workers of America and the recently organized Progressive Miners of America. Thus, as a consequence of the mistaken policy of the progressive miners in splitting off and forming a rival union instead of remaining and building a left wing in the U.M.W.A., the united struggle against the operators is already giving way to the demoralizing struggle between competitive unions.

## OPEN FORUM

CONDUCTED BY NEW WORKERS SCHOOL  
228 Second Avenue (Cor. 14th Street)  
EVERY SUNDAY EVENING AT 8:30

Sunday, Oct. 23, 8:30 P. M.—

JAY LOVESTONE  
Communist Party (Opposition)

WHAT'S AHEAD FOR AMERICAN CAPITALISM?

(The "Upturn" And The Elections)

Sunday, Oct. 30, 8:30 P. M.—

ROGER BALDWIN  
American Civil Liberties Union

IS PROLETARIAN DICTATORSHIP  
PREFERABLE TO DEMOCRACY?



## LYTTON REPORT HITS JAPAN

### Is Big Victory For U. S. Imperialism

GENEVA.—The Lytton report, issued on October 2, by the League of Nations Secretariat, is an absolute and unanimous condemnation of the Japanese policy in the last few years.

The recommendations of the commission insist on Manchuria remaining under Chinese "sovereignty" while becoming "autonomous" and "demilitarized." The report is absolutely against the recognition of Manchukuo. The necessity of taking "Soviet interests" into consideration in making a "settlement" is strongly emphasized and direct Chinese-Japanese negotiations are suggested.

The report of the Lytton commission constitutes a striking victory for the policy of United States imperialism in its struggle against Japan in the Far East. It also reflects the growing rapprochement between the United States and Great Britain on a world scale.

The Japanese War Office has already announced the opposition of Tokyo to the report from beginning to end, declaring that Japan will leave the League if "the spirit of the report is followed."

### U. T. W. RESOLUTION FOR LABOR PARTY

We publish below the resolution adopted unanimously by the recent convention of the United Textile Workers of America. It marks a welcome change in the policy of American trade-unionism in regard to political action. The way pointed out here by the U. T. W. should be followed by all other trade unions and labor bodies.—Editor.

"WHEREAS, we as organized workers with experience in seeking to build a union and in conducting strikes in many different States and have thus come into contact with political groups of all shades of opinion and have encountered the same lack of understanding and brutal hostility from both Republicans and Democrats in many situations, and,

"WHEREAS, the traditional policy of the American labor movement of bargaining for favors with the leaders of various factions of both parties has not only failed to yield results for the masses of the workers but has also done much to undermine the morale and destroy the militancy of our movement, and,

"WHEREAS, if we will look at our problems not merely from the standpoint of the moment but from the standpoint of a period of years, it will be realized that better results both materially and spiritually can be obtained by consistently, courageously and honestly fighting to build a separate political party which will only reflect the wishes and ideals of the laboring masses, and,

"WHEREAS, President Green of the American Federation of Labor has this past week at the New Jersey State Federation of Labor re-emphasized the fact that the movement has no constitutional prohibition against the formation of an independent political party of labor and in fact at all times stands ready to undertake such a move if sufficient rank and file support is created, and,

"WHEREAS, now is the time of all times to launch such a movement and this union is in many ways excellently equipped for such an effort owing to the fact that it owes no favors to any political party, therefore,

"BE IT RESOLVED, that the United Textile Workers of America places itself squarely on record for advocating the establishment of an independent political party of labor whose candidates cannot seek office on the tickets of the present major political parties, and,

"BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that this convention urge all its affiliated bodies to initiate the establishment of local independent

## Roosevelt Plays the "Radical" as Big Business Applauds

### Smith In Sharp Attack On Candidate

A sharp attack on the "radicalism" of Franklin D. Roosevelt marks the first article of Alfred E. Smith in the "New Outlook" (on sale October 1), of which he is now editor. Especially is the "Forgotten Man," the Democratic candidate's favorite piece of hokum, mercilessly ridiculed.

In his long awaited public statement of attitude to Roosevelt and his campaign, ex-Governor Smith takes an out-and-out conservative position, absolutely impossible to distinguish from the Hoover brand of reaction. Even Herbert Hoover's "rugged individualism," so thoroughly discredited under the impact of the economic crisis, meets with the Democratic leader's approval. "There is no country in the world," he writes, "where individual initiative counts for so much, where opportunities to rise are so great and where class distinctions are so unimportant!" And this in the face of a condition where tens of millions starve thru no fault of their own while the favored few continue to roll in luxury!

A strong bid for "progressive" sentiment, while at the same time making it clear that Big Business has nothing whatever to fear from him, seems to be the main strategy of Franklin D. Roosevelt, Democratic Presidential nominee, and his managers, in the present election campaign. In McCook, Nebraska, at a huge meeting on the Red Willow County Fair grounds, held on September 28, the New York Governor lauded the Republican insurgent, Senator George W. Norris, and received Norris's pledge of support. In this speech as well as in his remarks the day before enroute in Colorado, Roose-

velt made a plea "against party lines" and for the support of all liberals and progressives." He made a mock attack on the "forces of evil," the "tariff monopolists," the "bankers who sell worthless bonds" and the "power trust." He hailed the Democratic party, the twin brother of the G.O.P., as the "real progressive party!" He did not say one word, however, on how he or his party proposed to improve the lot of the working masses of this country, on what he proposed to do about unemployment, wage-cuts, starvation, misery...

On the contrary, insofar as Roosevelt has touched the real vital issues of the campaign, he has shown himself to be a hopeless conservative or else a wind-bag demagogue. His proposals for "farm relief" are either meaningless phrases or else the old Republican "newbies" in a new form. His program for public utilities and for the railroads is so utterly reactionary that it has won the outspoken approval of the outstanding capitalists of the country. As Charles Schwab, leading steel king, recently declared: "Business has nothing to fear from Franklin D. Roosevelt. He is not a radical in any sense of the term. He is a sound conservative."

While Roosevelt is touring the country playing the "progressive" to the applause of the dyed-in-the-wool reactionaries, the Hoover forces are making a straight-out appeal to conservatism and reaction. According to Assistant Secretary of War Trubee Davison, "the truly conservative policies followed by our great President,

Herbert Hoover, have saved the country from disaster in this world-wide depression." The strategy of the G.O.P. is evidently to convince Big Business that it and it alone is deserving of undivided support as well as to play upon the conservative instincts of the backward farming masses of this country. As a matter of fact nothing is held out to the worker and farmer except starvation and misery under the Hooverian banner of "rugged individualism." And yet, in the face of this, Secretary of Labor "Depotations" Doak has the gall to call the Republican party the "party of the American working man" and to recommend Herbert Hoover to labor as "that great humanitarian."

In a situation that calls for aggressiveness and militancy, Norman Thomas, the Socialist party candidate, is showing himself a sort of radical echo of Roosevelt. To placate the employers, to provide them "guarantees" that no "unpleasant" would follow the attempt to put the Socialist party program into execution, seems to be the chief concern of the S. P. standard-bearer, if his own campaign text-book and his own speeches are any guide.

The only party that today stands foursquare in the interests of American labor, of American working men and working farmers, is the Communist Party. In spite of its incorrect tactics today, in spite of the great shortcomings of its platform and campaign, it is the only party which the workers can support if they want to support their own interests, the interests of their class, real effective resistance to the attacks of the capitalists.

**Vote Communist! Vote for Foster and Ford!**

## Unemployed Face Terrible Winter; Must Prepare and Organize Now!

New York City.

In spite of all the ballyhoo about "turning the corner at last," about the "pickup" and the "new wave of optimism," it is now being generally admitted that distress will be deeper and the unemployment relief problem more pressing and serious during the coming Winter than at any time since the crisis broke out. The Emergency Unemployment Relief Committee, the so-called Gibson committee, has announced that the "situation which confronts thousands of unfortunate men, women and children in New York City this winter is very serious, desperate" and that the whole relief machinery is facing collapse. It proposes to raise some \$18,000,000 in its usual manner, by forced collections from employed workers, that is, from those least able to bear any additional burden. A committee of big business men and bankers has already been picked to make a drive to get relief money out of the poor!

With another and more horrible Winter staring them in the face, with the prospect ahead of the probable collapse and almost certain curtailment of even the meager relief they have been receiving, sections of the unemployed workers of this city are beginning to organize themselves for an effective struggle for adequate relief and for government unemployment insurance. The Association of the Unemployed, a non-political, non-partisan organization, is pushing this work ahead. It has already

established branches in various parts of the city and has worked out a concrete program reflecting the demands and the interests of the unemployed. On Thursday, September 25, representatives of the association, with the assistance of the New York Urban League, established a branch in Negro Harlem, meeting regularly on Wednesdays at the Urban League headquarters.

NEW YORK.—A protest against the decision of the Red Cross to supply cloth to volunteers to be made up gratis into clothes, for the needy, was lodged by International Ladies Garment Workers Union on September 30, as "unfair" to the 20,000 or more unemployed ladies garment workers in this city. Instead, the I.L.G.W.U. proposed that "the unemployed garment workers be given an opportunity (to work). Arrangements could be made to produce

these garments at a minimum cost and factories can be secured that would operate without profit. It would give jobs to thousands of idle workers..." The Red Cross has so far paid no attention whatever to this plea and is going ahead with its original plan.

The protest of the I.L.G.W.U. against the vicious Red Cross scheme is certainly in place but even the proposal of the union leaders is far from satisfactory. Their offer to have the unemployed needle trades workers work "at a minimum cost" that is, below regular wages) is a direct bid for a further depression of working standards and a blow at the employed and unemployed alike. The work should be done by union workers at union wages and relief for the unemployed should come from taxes and levies placed upon the rich, for many of whom the crisis has been only an opportunity to pile up more profits at the expense of the starving masses.

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## DANCE

Opening NEW WORKERS SCHOOL  
SAT. October 8 at 228-2nd Ave.

## SLAVERY IN THE UNITED STATES

### War Dept. Peonage In Mississippi

WASHINGTON.—A story of revolting conditions, in many cases approaching actual slavery, in contract labor camps on Mississippi Federal flood control projects, was told on September 22 in a hearing before Brigadier-General C. B. Pillsbury by Miss Helen Boardman, former Red Cross worker, who has just completed an investigation of twenty-two such camps. General Pillsbury conducted the hearings in secret, refusing to admit representatives of the press, but Walter White, secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, whose campaign brought about the investigation, released a statement outlining the main points. The report describes conditions as "without exception unspeakable." Negroes are exclusively employed on these projects.

"Women were beaten for not having meals ready on time," Miss Boardman was quoted as reporting. "Two men were beaten and discharged for refusing to do night work after having worked all day."

"Some of the contractors and foremen were armed with rifles. I saw them myself. The heat was terrible. The men were driven, in a temperature of 120 degrees, into swamps filled with mosquitoes."

Miss Boardman described the workers as "terrified and afraid to talk," the statement said. She blamed the contract system used by the War Department for the abuses.

"The men work from twelve to sixteen hours a day," she was quoted. "On the outskirts of some of the camps were groups of hungry unemployed men waiting for any vacancy, a condition of which the foremen took full advantage. Wages amounted to from \$1 to \$2.50 a day, but by the use of a trick commissary system even that amount was seldom paid."

"The workers were forced to pay a weekly fee of \$4 or \$5 whether they traded at the commissary or not. In addition they were charged according to the whim of the commissary agents for all sorts of necessities, such as 50 cents a week for drinking water, \$1 a week tent rent, \$1 a week cook's fee, 25 cents for 15 cent cigarettes."

In spite of the terrible conditions exposed in this hearing, the War Department has decided to ignore the whole matter and to whitewash the charges. Slavery in the "land of the free" is to continue under the protection of the Federal government!

A senatorial investigation of conditions has been promised the N.A.A.C.P. by Senator Wagner of New York.

Walter White, the secretary of the N.A.A.C.P., who has figured so largely in the campaign to expose and end slave conditions on the Mississippi flood control projects, will speak on this question at the New Workers School Forum, 228 Second Avenue, on December 4. His subject will be: "Slavery in the 'Land of the Free'."

### BIG HEALTH DRIVE IN SOVIET UNION

MOSCOW.—The Soviet Union is conducting a public health and medical supervision campaign on a gigantic scale, the scope and depth of which far exceed anything the world has ever known, according to the statements of Sir Arthur Newsholme, former chief of the British Public Health Service, and John A. Kingsbury of the Millbank Memorial Fund of New York, who have just completed an exhaustive study of this phase of the socialist construction activities of the Soviet government. Newsholme and Kingsbury have published their observations in the form of extensive reports.



# "The Liberation of American Literature"

THE LIBERATION OF AMERICAN LITERATURE, by V. F. Calverton. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1932.

Formally, this book is a study of the development of American literature; in fact, however, it is much more. It is actually a penetrating and thorough work documenting the cultural history of the United States. It is significant not only as a pioneer work opening the way to new and astonishingly fertile viewpoints but also as a definitive formulation of the only school of literary and cultural criticism that has any vitality today, the Marxist school basing itself upon the method of historical materialism.

This work owes its strength and validity primarily to the lucidity yet keenness with which the author employs this powerful method. Substantially the methodological procedure followed by Calverton runs along these lines: first, an analysis of the pertinent economic relations, of the tendencies of economic change, and of the class relations built upon them; secondly, an examination of the dynamic state of social consciousness ("spirit of the age") emerging from the conditions of social existence—in our country, this spirit has generally manifested itself in some characteristically religious form; and finally, an account of the literature of the period in terms of its spirit—with analogies and parallelisms from music, architecture and the drama. The emphasis upon mind and thought as social products (p. 470), the understanding of the mechanism of the social motivation of individual behavior (p. 229) and of the necessity of estimating men and movements in their historical setting (p. 298) and the appreciation of the organic relation between life and literature (p. 408) are indications that the Marxist method is here far more than a sterile dogma. In spite of some occasional lapses (e.g., the inadequate explanation of Emerson's curious deviations to a defense of aristocracy or the underestimation of the cultural significance of the American Revolution), the critical weapon of Marxism is wielded with a skill and success that emphasize the inexhaustible potency of the instrument.

The consistent employment of the doctrine of historical materialism as the manual of action in critical analysis and synthesis, necessarily implies a certain clearly defined social viewpoint of the proletarian class viewpoint of the proletariat. The explicit avowal of this fundamental outlook endows the long and involved story of American culture, as told by Calverton, with a unity and a vitality that could not otherwise be achieved. Calverton's narrative is never merely retrospective; even when it deals with the earliest times, its emphasis is always thrown forward, prospective; the past gains significance as that from which the present emerges, upon which the future is built.

The orderly scheme to which Calverton reduces the welter of fact and material really does show us why our culture has developed precisely as it has. The main features of this scheme can be sketched in a few words. Under the impact of the "colonial complex," a social-psychological force arising originally from the social and economic subordination of the American colonies to England but maintaining its persistent effect until the twentieth century, American culture developed in sterile subservience to British standards and forms; a really native literature was for a long time historically impossible. At the same time, the characteristically "puritanical" attitude of the petty bourgeois dissenters who planted and peopled the colonies in both North and South manifested itself in a determined hostility to art and in the submergence of all cultural life in theology. These two facts together seriously stunted American literature and long prevented it from gaining maturity. "If the presence of the colonial complex

## A Review of V. F. Calverton's Book

by Will Herberg

made it impossible for our literature to stand on its own legs, the influence of the petty bourgeois attitude towards art, in its moral as well as in its religious form, prevented those borrowed legs from ever moving with freedom" (p. 88).

The rise of commerce and the appearance of a wealthy bourgeoisie in the eighteenth century tended somewhat in the direction of liberation but the process was extremely incomplete owing to the petty bourgeois-mindedness of even this emerging upper middle class. The characteristic absence of an aristocratic tradition in the cul-

ral life of this country, it is strikingly shown, helped to render the petty bourgeois attitude to art almost invincible. The slavery-plantation system in the South, which followed a brief period of early petty bourgeois domination, could not yield anything better than a bastard pseudo-aristocracy, shoddy and sterile and thoroughly imitative in culture, a worse victim of the colonial complex than even New England.

It was the influence of the fron-

tier, which Calverton describes with great vigor and enthusiasm, which definitely broke the bondage to Europe, unleashed our native cultural forces and gave us Emerson and Whitman and Mark Twain. But as the West fell increasingly subject to the influence of the conquering East (industrial capitalism) in the years following the Civil War, the individualistic promise of the frontier turned to ashes and the buoyant optimism of earlier days gave way to a dark and bitter pessimism. The "two sides" of Mark Twain illustrate this change. Such pessimism last-

ed well into the twentieth century, to become the dominant mood of a Dreiser. Meanwhile, the advent of American imperialism in the early years of this century and the accompanying rise of a powerful upper bourgeois leisure class, not only finally shattered the colonial complex but also undermined the exclusive authority of the lower middle class moral taboos. Liberation was at last in sight but its fulfillment could not come from any of the recognized forces of the old society, corrupt and decadent on the one hand, defeated and demoralized on the other. It has come—or rather, it is coming—from a new source, radically transcending the outlived standards and traditions of the bourgeoisie, great and small, and finding power and vitality in the supreme historical struggle of the proletariat for emancipation. In proletarian culture (Calverton uses this term to designate culture with defined working class standards and bias), weak and immature as it still is in this country, American literature is finding its liberation.

This general thesis, which I have described so barely and so inadequately, Calverton elaborates, proves and illustrates with the most satisfying abundance of material and wealth of documentation. When he has finished, it is impossible to see how the general scheme he has outlined can be challenged in any of its important features. It is beyond the limits of this review to examine the individual elements of the swiftly moving complex of social-cultural tendencies in any sort of detail; our attention must be called to the extraordinary chapter on the "Frontier Force," in my opinion easily the best chapter in the book in the fertility and the incisiveness of its analysis. No one can read this chapter without gaining a really new slant on American cultural development.

A question may certainly be raised, as does Granville Hicks in his review in "The New Republic," as to Calverton's evaluation of individual writers and their works, but it must be recognized that such evaluation plays an extremely subordinate part in this study which, as the author himself points out (p. xiii) "does not fall as closely in the category of literary criticism as into that of social history." For an understanding of cultural life of our country, it is fortunate that it does tend in this direction.

Comparisons are often inevitable and a comparison between this work and Vernon Farrington's "Main Currents of American Thought" immediately rises to mind. It is no discredit to the latter to say that, in my opinion, it comes out second best in the process. Farrington's study is certainly more extensive, his style frequently livelier, his examination of individual writers more elaborate. But in sureness and consciousness of method, above all, in clarity of fundamental viewpoint, Calverton's work is unquestionably superior and his delineation of tendencies and forces far clearer and more valid. To see this we need but contrast the presentation of Transcendentalism in the two studies; in Calverton it is the philosophical transmutation of the self-reliant individualistic spirit of the frontier; in Farrington there is no hint of this profound idea at all.

But, after all, comparisons need by no means be exclusive; on the basis of Calverton's study the work of Farrington acquires a new significance and a new precision. And this is the greatest tribute to the book under review: it is a pioneer yet definitive ground-work for a cultural history of America.

A course of four lectures, dealing with the development of American literature and culture along the lines of the book reviewed above, will be given by V. F. Calverton at the New Workers School during the month of December. The course will be given on Thursdays.

## A Letter From The Anthracite

### ARE WE FACING ANOTHER U.M.W.A. SPLIT?

by Fred (Wilkes Barre, Pa.)

We publish below another letter from Fred, leading Communist Anthracite miner.—Editor.

• • •

Wilkes Barre, Pa.

The official Communist Party has now again swung from the extreme of left sectarianism into that of opportunism. The readers of the C. P. press and literature will remember the extremely sectarian course of the Party and of its "Rank and File Committee" in the recent strikes in the Anthracite, a course which actually made strike-breakers of some party members and sympathizers. And now today, just the opposite!

On September 8, the Communist Party representatives initiated a united front with Maloney (the leader of the opposition forces in the Anthracite.—Editor). At the meeting they had with Maloney on that day they decided that it was necessary to mobilize the miners against the wage-cut and for unemployment relief. Then they decided to call for September 9 a meeting of all active workers and of those expelled from the U.M.W.A. for their strike activity. Maloney made it clear to the representative of the C. P. that he would have Cappellini president. (Cappellini was formerly a corrupt, reactionary union leader; now he is at odds with the Lewis machine.—Editor). At this meeting there were present seven of the so-called "Rank and File Committee" with Duhar at the head, and six expelled members of the U.M.W.A., including Maloney; Cappellini was not there. At this meeting tendencies were shown by both the C. P. representatives and by Maloney in favor of forming a new union in the Anthracite. F. Vratovic came out against the proposition to form a new union and against accepting Cappellini in the united front. He proposed the following motion: (1) That we begin to mobilize the miners against the wage cut by going to speak to the members of the union in the locals, by holding mass meetings, etc.; (2) that we declare ourselves in favor of the organization of the unemployed and of social insurance; (3) that we call ourselves Progressive Group in the U.M.W.A. and fight for the reinstatement of all the expelled and for democracy in the union.

The last motion was left over to another meeting to be held on September 12. At this meeting there were present eight of the expelled, two other active workers, and fourteen of the "Rank and File Committee" and discussion began on the motion that was left over. At first the sentiment was in favor of it, especially that we must work in the U.M.W.A. The "Rank and File Committee" members opposed it on the excuse that "we are the top leaders, we must leave it to the rank and file!" The discussion continued so long that it switched off to the question of a delegate conference. The senti-

ment was in favor of the conference but not immediately as support had to be built up for it. Duhar made a motion to call another meeting of a similar character within a week, only larger and broader. Maloney pointed out the necessity of visiting local meetings and speaking to them about our proposition, and since these meetings take place only once or twice a month, more time would be necessary until the next meeting. Finally the motion was amended by Vratovic that we immediately orientate ourselves according to the first motion and call a conference within three weeks, at which delegate conference the future would be discussed. Louis Casteline opposed the motion saying that it was wasting time and that we should immediately speak for a

delegate conference. (Such a thing would right away block our entrance into local unions). The other opposition was from the "Rank and File Committee", in the person of Antonio, who also claimed that three weeks was too long a time and that we should call it within a week. The meeting ended with no result. Maloney said that he was convinced that the "Rank and File" people did not have the desire to go to the local unions to build up sentiment but they wanted to pick out individuals who had no power in the locals and with them decide on a policy. Maloney said that it was best for each group to go its own way and that he would fight for the first two motions.

Such is the result of the "new turn" in the Party's tactics!

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# The New York Painters Strike and Its Betrayers

## Sold Out Before It Began!

We begin in this issue the publication of a series of articles on the recent New York painters strike. The writer, H. Edwards, is a prominent left wing building trades worker whose real name cannot be disclosed for obvious reasons. Comrade Edwards' analysis of the events and his disclosures throw striking light upon the present situation in the labor movement and the role of the conservative officialdom of the A. F. of L.—Editor.

All house-painter locals of Manhattan and Bronx, affiliated with District Council 9 of the Brotherhood of Painters, A. F. of L., are now under actual dictatorship of Vice-President E. Ackerley. All rights of the membership to discuss, propose or decide on any questions pertaining to the last strike and its outcome, have been abolished for an indefinite period. This dictatorship is a result of the action of the officials of District Council 9 and the strike committee to invite the General Executive Board of the Brotherhood of Painters to take over and end the New York strike because they were "unable" to handle the situation which developed in the locals while the strike was in progress. The G.E.B., thru Vice-President Ackerley, decided to "step into" the strike only if Ackerley would be given full power to negotiate and conclude agreements with employers without submitting them for approval to the membership, or any committee representing the membership, and if the strike committee consisting of members of the house-painters locals would dissolve itself. To strengthen his dictatorial power, Ackerley utilized the demoralization and chaos, artificially created among membership in the last three weeks of the strike, to carry thru a "referendum vote" in the locals to grant him such power. Ackerley then appointed a committee of five of his trusted people, including Dave Shapiro, secretary of District Council, to help him in his plans.

The strike, called by District Council 9 on July 13, 1932, received the best response of the workers in the painting trade, organized as well as unorganized. It was the constant desire of the membership to make a real effort to end the intolerable conditions and the continual wage reductions on the jobs; for the first time there arose the general realization of the necessity of organizing the unorganized alteration painters who form the biggest number of workers in the trade and of insuring the \$11.20 per day wage scale on all union jobs. Since May 1, when the painters in New York made an effort to resist the wage slashing agreement concluded between the Building Trades Council and the Building Trades Employers Association and were ordered back to work on the employers conditions by the representative of the G.E.B., the workers insistently demanded, at meetings of their locals and once at an interlocal conference, that a strike should be called. The official had to yield to the demand of the workers.

The enthusiasm of the 10,000 workers who responded to the strike call was so great that it overshadowed the fact that the most necessary forces to lead the workers in the struggle against the employers and the treacherous union bureaucrats, the left wing and the progressive elements, were not united and had no common program of demands and action. In spite of their mistrust of the officials, the workers carried thru some mass picketing and a system of picketing union and non-union jobs was organized, with the result that on Monday, the third day of the strike, many unorganized alteration painters left their work and joined the union at the reduced \$10.00 initiation fee. In the first two weeks of the strike about 800 workers joined the union and about two thousand went back to work in new unionized shops with increases in their wages, although the fault of the officials, the new members in the newly unionized shops did not receive the

\$11.20 per day as the agreement called for.

The strike had all potentialities of broadening out among the alteration painters especially, for not since the world war has there been as much work in repainting houses and apartments as there is now. The economic crisis has hit the building industry very hard; almost the entire membership of the union is turning to alteration painting. Prolonged unemployment and starvation have forced the painter, organized and unorganized alike, to offer themselves for the lowest

by H. Edwards

prices, \$5-\$6 per day, and unlimited speed-up. It was these conditions that made it possible for the union, if a genuine effort would be made, to organize the workers for a real betterment of their conditions and higher wages.

While the New York painters were fighting hard, demanding \$11.20 a day on new and alteration work, while they were making every effort to organize alteration shops, they did not realize that

their strike was doomed, that it had been sold out long before they went out on strike. At the end of March 1932, Mr. Lindelof, the General President of the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America, himself a well-known Chicago racketeer, met in conference with Mr. C. G. Norman, chairman of the Board of Governors of the New York Building Trades Employers Association. At that conference a secret agreement was reached that Mr. Lindelof should (for a consideration which some estimate in six figures)

see to it that all District Councils in Greater New York, including the councils which are not affiliated with the Building Trades Council, should adopt agreements similar to the agreement between the Building Trades Council and the Building Trades Employers Association, and that the three painters councils in Greater New York should accept the slash in wages proposed by the employers association, \$10.00 on new buildings and \$8.00 on alteration work. Mr. Lindelof immediately began to carry out his part of the agreement with the representative of the employers. As General President, Mr. Lindelof, has a well functioning machine in the Brotherhood made up of the twenty-four national organizers and six vice-presidents, each receiving \$375 a month and an amount equal to his wages for monthly expenses. He has those who serve as his secret agents to carry out all deals made by the "chief." These agents operate in different parts of the country. Mr. Lindelof's operator for the Eastern district, which includes Greater New York, is the National Organizer, Claude Beach, of Cleveland, Ohio. He has a few local men as assistants; the most trusted of the local group are McNamara, Charlie Stofol and Zauner of New York and Jake Wilmer, business agent of the Brooklyn local.

They carried out their sell-out of the workers in the following way: A few weeks before May 1—when the old agreement between the painters district councils and the employers expired, officials of the locals, some knowingly, others unknowingly, having been whipped into line, began to "create" a sentiment among the membership that new agreements could not be made on the old wage scale of \$13.20 per day, that by agreeing to a wage-cut "we" would help to stimulate new building operations and many unemployed workers would be able to get employment. Despite the efforts of the militant and progressive workers who pointed out the danger of such ideas, the bureaucrats succeeded temporarily in winning the confidence of workers for their stand. On May 1, when John Halkett, President of the Building Trades Council, called a fake stoppage of all building trades unions affiliated with his council, when actually he had already accepted the wage-cut for all trades as proposed by the employers, the painters district council of Queens, which is not affiliated with the Building Trades Council and is not pledged to its agreements, led by Secretary Erhard, decided to renew its agreement with the employers with a \$10.00 scale on new buildings, leaving the price on alteration work unsettled but generally understood as \$8.00 per day. There were only two votes in the council against this wage-cut.

Brooklyn Local 102, which has jurisdiction over Kings County and is affiliated with the Building Trades Council, and the leader of the local, the racketeer Jake (Bum) Wilmer, and his clique, strongly supported the action for a \$10.00 scale on new buildings; he also frankly admitted that it meant \$8.00 on old work and accused all those who denied the two separate scales of being liars. Up to date, although the agreement between the Building Trades Council, of which Brooklyn Local 102 is a part, and the Building Trades Employers Association calls for \$11.20 a day, that business agent officially informs the members in Brooklyn that their wages are not more than \$10.00 in the borough. He is now planning an official wage scale of \$8.00, if not less, on alteration work.

Queens and Brooklyn fell in line with Lindelof's plans but it was not so easy with the New York membership, and, without the New York District Council in line, Mr. Lindelof's arrangement would have been a personal loss.

## A Letter From The Pittsburgh Field

### THE "PROSPERITY" DRIVE IN PITTSBURGH

by Leon Lerner

Pittsburgh, Pa.

The "Pittsburgh Press" (September 14) appeared with a column under large captions: "STEEL OUTPUT RATE SHOWS FURTHER GAIN," "PRODUCTION RISES IN PITTSBURGH, CHICAGO, YOUNGSTOWN DISTRICTS." . . . Then the writer of the article proceeded quoting from the September 14 issue of the "Iron Age" to the effect that: "Moderate improvement in the iron and steel trade was noted. Steel ingot production rose a point to 15 1/4% of capacity, the highest in many weeks; the trade is looking for further gains. . . . Gains have occurred principally in the Pittsburgh, Chicago and Youngstown Districts. . . ."

To the average reader it would look as if the steel industry is really on the up-grade, as the capitalist class would have the workers believe. It is important to note, however, that nothing was said in the article of the fact that even more workers have been laid off at the steel mills, particularly in the Pittsburgh and Youngstown districts. Even more important is the fact that the preceding page of the very same issue of the "Pittsburgh Press" carries a very short but important news item, hidden in a corner at the very bottom of the page captioned as follows: "YOUNGSTOWN STEEL MILL OPERATIONS RECEDE," and goes on to state: "Youngstown operations here have sagged to 18% capacity from 21% at the start of the week. . . . Seventeen of the 83 open-hearth furnaces are working as against 19 at the start of the week. . . ."

These contradictions are very interesting particularly due to recent campaigns in the capitalist press where a rosy future is being painted for the workers, where the "depression" is constantly being booted out and a "new" wave of prosperity is always being ushered in. The capitalist class would like to have the workers believe their fairy-tale about "upturn" and therefore are painfully hiding such news from the working class. The real fact is that the steel mills around Pittsburgh (Bradford, Homestead, Duquesne, Clairton, etc.) are working less than 15% capacity; workers are constantly being laid off; the mines are, without exception, either completely shut down or else working some one day a week, some two days a week. Some mining companies are stretching a point by counting as employed workers to whom they offer work about one day in two weeks. Thus, we see here amongst the "fortunate ones" workers who are drawing pay checks from \$6.00 down to \$1.00 a week. By having their newspapers publish news about "glorious" times ahead the capitalist class around here hopes to fool those still partially employed for pitiful wages and also to fool those unemployed into believing that very soon conditions will be much better off for them so as to check any growth of unrest. But in telling us that

"glorious" times are ahead they neglect to tell how far ahead they are for the working class, so far ahead that the masses of workers will never be able to catch up with them under the present system.

Only a few weeks ago I investigated reports in the capitalist daily newspapers about some 2,000 workers being called back to work by the Carnegie steel mills at Youngstown. What really happened there was that some workers were called back to work, assembled and marched into the mill, and believing that starvation was at an end for them, the workers cheered and waved while the bosses had the Hearst Metrotone News men on hand to photograph the scenes which were later shown in all movie houses of the country. The workers were then dismissed. Today, the Carnegie mills at Youngstown are closed just as before this incident.

Father Cox has changed the name of the dilapidated valley where he located Shantytown to a more becoming name—Coxtown. Now he calls its unsanitary shanties a "village". He is being subsidized in this by the business interests in and around Pittsburgh. The Catholics hail him; the Protestants turn a deaf but sympathetic ear to him, for he is considered as a necessary evil by them. He (Cox) succeeded in fooling a few thousand workers into thinking of the hereafter rather than their present conditions. They get more prayers than bread and thus Father Cox is serving his masters wonderfully. He has even adopted the Fascist salute (I suppose that is why he went to Italy recently) and has distributed uniforms to his followers: a blue shirt and a blue cap similar to a U. S. Army cap. So it's now "Cox's Blue-Shirt Army." But where is the Communist Party, why cannot it succeed in giving leadership to this confused mass of unemployed?

The Communist Party, due to its wrong line, has lost whatever small hold it once had on the masses, particularly now at a time when its influence should grow instead of recede. The sectarian course of the party here is having its disastrous consequences. In the unions (A. F. of L.) there are no Com. M. F. to give leadership; for the party claims they are "social-fascist", "unclean agencies of Hoover imperialism," etc. The T. U. U. L. unions exist on paper only. Workers are asking where the new T. U. U. L. "union" for the steel workers is, the one which the Communist Party boasted it has formed around here. And the answer is that this "union" scarcely exists on paper and the party has no following amongst the steel workers here.

In the taxicab strike recently, when the Communist's did attempt to join in, they were repelled with shouts: "We know you Communists! You want to break our union!" And the bitter enemy of the working class, the sky-pilot Fa-

ther Cox, succeeded in acquiring leadership and thus breaking the strike.

The C. P. has not gained in membership here. On the contrary, its turnover here is more than 100%, so that while it is impossible to get correct figures, due to padding, party members say they do not believe there are more than 150 dues-paying Communists around here! At every Party meeting one sees new faces but these workers are dropping by the wayside, the party being unable to hold them in its fold.

Thus the membership is discouraged and dissatisfied with the leadership, but a good many are hanging on hoping for a complete change, a turn when they will be in a position to do real Communist work in organizing the masses here.

A good many such Communists have spoken to me. Some have acquired Trotskyite inclinations but they are afraid to expose themselves while a good many are strongly leaning towards our Communist Opposition movement. They also are vacillating, afraid of coming into the open, afraid of demanding the reestablishment of party democracy, afraid of demanding frank discussion of the wrong party line, living in hopes of a turn to come somehow from somewhere or be brought about by some Messiah. As one comrade, a sympathizer with us, puts it: "I brought five members into the party recently, but they dropped out when they found out they could not frankly express themselves and they told me: 'What's the use, the line is not based on real American conditions but it is being carried out blindly thru orders from above.'"

## JAY LOVESTONE

begins his series of lectures on

## CURRENT HISTORY

ON FRIDAY EVENINGS,

8:30 P. M. Sharp

Oct. 7: I SAW IN EUROPE.

Oct. 14: IS PROSPERITY COMING BACK?

Oct. 21: HITLER AND HITLERISM.

Oct. 28: OUR NEXT PRESIDENT.

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# The C. O. at Work

## The Communist Party of the U.S.A. (Opposition)

As announced in the last issue of the "Age" the recent second national conference changed the name of our group from the Communist Party of the U. S. A. (Majority Group) into: *Communist Party of the U. S. A. (Opposition)*.

The question of the name of our group was under general discussion for many months before the conference. In making the change the conference registered the overwhelming sentiment of our organization. It was felt that the name C.P.-Majority Group was not only misleading in tending to give the impression that our group included a majority of the Communist movement in this country but was based on a no longer vital tradition, the tradition of the old "Majority" of the Central Committee of the C. P. before the overturn in the party in 1929. Since our struggle today is on issues and along lines substantially different from what it was then, the name "Majority Group," it was believed tended to convey a false impression. The name, moreover, can have no significance for the hundreds of new party members who know nothing whatever of what happened in the party before the notorious Open Address of the Comintern in 1929.

The name "Opposition," on the other hand, is an accurate reflection of the character of our group as the recognized opposition within the Communist movement, an opposition to the false tactics and destructive regime of the party and the Comintern. It is the name that has been adopted by our international movement in every part of the world. It is the name everywhere felt most appropriate from every angle.

## GOOD WORK IN FORT WAYNE, IND.

The charity organization officials have begun to increase their pressure on the Unemployed Council with a view of undermining its effectiveness. Our comrades are resisting all such moves vigorously. The Negro workers in the Council are especially active in resisting these disruptive schemes and in working for making the Unemployed Council still more effective. The rank and file workers are fighting the attempts of some of the labor leaders to prevent the launching of a local united labor ticket. Our group is especially active against the attempts of the Liberty party and Father Cox forces to cripple the Unemployed Council.

In the unemployed work, vigorous resistance is being organized to evictions.

Good educational work is being conducted among the Negro masses especially here.

While the group continues its constructive work in the ranks of the unemployed, it is also extending its influence and its activities amongst the organized workers in the trade unions. At the Indiana State convention of the American Federation of Labor, Comrade H. H. Conner spoke for a Labor party and attacked the reactionary leadership of the American Federation of Labor for its corruption and its policies. He got good response from the rank and file and severe criticism from some of the leaders.

The convention passed a resolution condemning the government for the election of the B. E. F. from Washington.

## JAY LOVESTONE IN ANTHRACITE

Close to 150 gathered in the Workmen's Circle hall here to listen to a lecture by Jay Lovestone on the "Crisis in Germany. Its Significance" for the American Working Class.

Adherents to the official Com-

munist Party, Socialist party, Socialist Labor party, I. W. W. and anarchists were present in full force. The meeting was held under the auspices of the Communist Party (Opposition), Anthracite District, and the Lithuanian Communist Opposition. Comrade Vratovic presided and the Lithuanian chorus rendered a few numbers.

## NEW YORK GETS ON THE JOB!

New York City.

Two of the best attended membership meetings ever held in this city took place on September 24 and 28 at our headquarters, 228 Second Avenue. The question before the meetings was primarily the realization of the line and directives of the recent national conference of our group and the mobilization of the membership along the lines of the program of action adopted at the conference. The vigorous participation of the members and the constructive level of discussion offered a real guarantee that the sharp change outlined at the conference would be carried out into reality.

All units have, in line with the national conference decisions, elected new executive committees and unit organizers.

A rigorous check-up is being made of all members as to their attendance, dues-payments, payment of 5% tax for the "Workers Age", and general activity.

Functionaries conferences are being prepared to mobilize the ranks for the Workers Age Sub Drive, the work among the unemployed, and improvement of the work in the trade unions.

## PHILA. ACTS ON NAT. CONFERENCE

The group has discussed and

## About "Socialism In One Country"

"The hope of the Russian Communists to build socialism in one country and in a country as backward as the U.S.S.R. has proven to be Utopian. Only the victory of socialism in one of the advanced capitalist countries can make possible a quick transition from the forms of State capitalism in the U.S.S.R. to socialist forms, without the necessity of passing thru the stage of capitalist development."

This formulation of the well known Trotskyist theory of the "impossibility of building socialism in one country" is taken not from "The Militant", not from an article by Trotsky, but from the Summer 1932 issue of "The American Socialist Quarterly", Hillquit's house-org., where it appeared in an article on the Five-Year Plan by A. Yugov, the well known Menshevik writer.

Curious, isn't it, what strange political bed-fellows these "lefts of the left" find when it comes to the Soviet Union,

adopted the resolutions of the national conference. A special committee of three has been elected to report regularly to the National Committee on the events in the labor movement and the group activities. Preparations are being made for the meeting of Comrade Lovestone's tour.

## HERBERG SPEAKS IN HARTFORD

Over forty workers, including members of the Communist Opposition, Communist Party, Socialist party and the Y.P.S.L., heard Will Herberg, managing editor of the "Workers Age", speak on: "The Five-Year Plan of the Soviet Union." The meeting took place on Sunday October 2.

Great interest and general agreement were expressed on the part of the audience. Two or three Y.C.L. members made a faint attempt at a disturbance but with no effect.

The meeting was arranged by the Marxian Educational Society of Hartford, as the third of its series of popular lectures in the city.

## In the Comintern

### Where Is the VII C. I. Congress?

Where is the seventh congress of the Communist International? This question, recently voiced by L. D. Trotsky, is rising to the minds of conscious Communists all over the world.

According to the statutes of the Communist International, world congresses are to be held every two years at least. The last congress of the C. I. took place in July 1928, more than four years ago. Have these years been quiet and eventless, that no conference of the representatives of the world revolutionary movement is felt necessary. Just the reverse! They have been years full of stormy, sensational events and developments in the international class struggle as well as in the inner life of the Communist movement. Big problems loom which require solution; tremendous experiences, which demand evaluation. Then why no world congress?

Is it because the condition of the Communist International, and of the affiliated Communist parties, is so frightful that the clique in control of the Comintern is afraid to bring it to the attention of its own yes-men?

## THE ELECTIONS IN SWEDEN

Stockholm, Sweden.

The following are the results of the recent Riksdag elections (the figures in parentheses refer to the previous election in 1928): Conservatives—563,742 (692,434); Peasants league—351,055 (263,501); Liberals—40,859 (70,820); Freethinkers People's party—247,092 (303,915); Social democrats—1,013,176 (873,931); National Socialists—14,845; Communist Party (Opposition)—130,882; Communist Party (affiliated to the C. I.)—73,508. (In 1928, the Communist Party was still united and polled a total of 151,567.) The composition of the chamber therefore is: Conservatives—58 (15 lost); Peasants party—36 (9 gain); Liberals—4 (unchanged); Freethinkers

People's party—20 (8 lost); Social democrats—104 (14 gain); Communist Party (Opposition)—5; Communist Party (affiliated to the C. I.)—2. (The total deputation of the united C.P. was 8).

The results of the elections constitute a sharp defeat for the big bourgeois parties and a striking gain for the Social democracy. The Communist gain would unquestionably have been much greater had the movement been united and had the "official" C.P. not discredited the revolutionary cause with its irresponsibility and sectarianism.

## THE RESULTS OF THE D. M. V. MEET

Berlin, Germany.

The recent Dortmund congress of the German Metal-Workers Union (D.M.V.) gave striking evidence of the fruitful isolation in which the official Communist Party of Germany finds itself today in spite of all ballyhoo and certain election victories.

The D.M.V. is the biggest union in the whole world, outside of the U. S. S. R. At one time the Communist-led opposition within it was very strong, controlling whole districts and making a powerful showing at congresses. Now, after four years of the sectarian course, these are the results: At the congress there were 283 delegates. Of these, 272 were members of the Social-democratic party! The Communist Party, which was able to get over 5,000,000 votes in the Reichstag votes, had just two delegates at the congress!

The Socialist Workers party, the centrist organization, had four delegates. But the German Communist Opposition, much weaker in numbers than to either the C.P.G. or the S.W.P., had 5 delegates.

The C.P.G.-O. delegates led the fight against the reformist bureaucracy all along the line. One of the two C. P. members stood solid with the officialdom thruout the conference; the other vacillated and frequently voted with the Communist Opposition delegation. Neither one even took the floor thruout the proceedings. The *Rote Fahne*, however, boosted the former and kept quiet about the latter. One or two of the S. W. P. men also sided with the officialdom more or less openly but the S. W. P. press sharply criticized them for this. The others worked with the Opposition.

The D.M.V. congress has produced a sharp reaction among the Communist Party membership who are tending more and more to look upon the Communist Opposition as the bearer of Communist struggle in the trade union movement.

## THE GERMAN S. W. P. JOINS THE I. H. V.

Berlin, Germany.

The Socialist Workers party has come out in support of the Internationale Hilfs-Vereinigung (I.H.V.), a non-partisan labor defense and relief organization in which the German Communist Opposition participates in a leading capacity.

In the "Sozialistische Arbeiter-Zeitung" of September 11, 1932 the S.W.P. publishes a statement calling attention to the acute necessity of a really non-partisan labor defense organization in the present situation and pointing out the clique-ridden ineffectiveness of the Rote Hilfe, the C.P.-controlled organization. The statement concludes with an appeal to all members and friends of the S.W.P. to join and to recruit for the I.H.V.

Members of the Communist Opposition and readers of the WORKERS AGE are urged to send in as much material on the life and work of the Communist Party and the Opposition as possible. We want to make this page as valuable and as informative as possible and we can only do so with your help.

# IN THE COMMUNIST PARTY

## "TURN" IN JOBLESS POLICY

On Tuesday evening, September 27, W. W. Weinstone, editor of the "Daily Worker", addressed a membership meeting of the biggest section in New York City, Section 1. About 250 were present. Comrade Weinstone emphasized the need for a "new turn" in the unemployment work. From now on the unemployed councils are no longer to be pure party organs. The party should not "squeeze them so tight" where it controls them. The putting forward this "new line", Comrade W. W. W. speaking in behalf of the C. C. of the party, didn't even attempt to make clear to the members present why the change was made, from what sort of an old line the "newest" turn is a departure.

Carl Winters, local unemployment leader of the party, also spoke. There was very little response among the comrades present. The comrades older in the party, took it all rather cynically and said that they had heard this "new turn" stuff many times in the recent past and the party never got out of its tight fix this way. The newer comrades didn't get on fully to what Comrade W. W. W. was talking about, so they had nothing to say. More confusion was the fruit of the meeting.

## NEW YORK IS IN BIG DISTRESS!

In order to try to overcome the bad condition in which the party's

strongest district now finds itself, the C.C. and D.C. have offered a new prescription. It is a bi-weekly district bulletin called "The Party Builder" for inner-party consumption. In its first issue it strikes the following keynote and paints this picture. "It is a known fact that the life of the units is very sterile and dead... The struggle against social-fascism in the District is in an extremely weak shape... The bulletin will give leadership and guidance on the basis of concrete examples on how to fight the social-fascists and demagogues, including the Cannon and Lovestone renegades!... The general understanding of the membership of political economic events in the District is at an extremely low level... Our trade union work, despite the objective favorable situation, is lagging far behind... Despite the ever-increasing worsening conditions among the bulk of the Negro population in Harlem, the District can show no gain in its work in this section."

## THE "NEW TURN" IN CHICAGO

In the latest political letter sent by John Williamson, for the Chicago District Secretariat, to all leading functionaries in the territory we learn how the Central Committee's newest turn in the unemployed work, towards waging it on a genuinely non-partisan and non-party basis, is being applied. Comrade Williamson boasts: "The Unemployed Council of Chicago, which is the biggest in Illinois, and the National Council of the Un-

employed have endorsed the candi-

dates of the C. P. because they are the only ones who... are really a workers party..."

But reminding himself that this achievement might not fit in with the "newest turn", the Chicago District leader hastens to admonish the smaller Unemployed Councils that it is not exactly necessary for them to copy this example. He says: "To participate in this mass movement it is not compulsory that the workers thruout the state must agree with the Chicago Unemployed Councils in its endorsement of the C.P."

Apparently, the Chicago District Bureau is getting dizzy executing the newest "new turn."

## FOSTER REVOLTS IN PARTY?

The serious illness of Comrade Foster is delaying the open expression of increasingly serious differences in the ranks of the party leadership between comrades Foster and Hathaway on the one hand and Comrades Browder and Johnstone on the other. Comrade Foster has begun to express some doubts about the efficacy of the present sectarian and splitting trade union course of the party. Even Comrade Zack, organizer of the T.U.U.L. in the New York District, is unusually shaky in his line because of the collapse of the T.U.U.L. in his territory. While Comrade Zack is staggering towards another new trade union turn along Foster's line, the skids are being prepared for him and Comrade Rijak has been added to his "staff" to strengthen him a little.



## AM GROUP AND TROTSKYITES

The *Militant*, organ of the American Trotsky group, has made a considerable noise recently about the so-called "Balham group" (a London section) of the Communist Party, of Great Britain which has broken with the C.P.G.B. and announced its affiliation to the "Left Opposition." A little examination of the nature of this group and of its dispute with the C.P.G. would be very useful in casting light upon the essential political character of the Trotskyist movement as a stream in world Communism.

As we have noted several times the C. P. G. B. has executed in the last year or so a "three-quarter turn" away from the old sectarian trade union course in the direction of Leninist trade union tactics. Suddenly the party leaders issued the absolutely correct but inadequate slogan: "The trade union branches (locals) must be transformed from organs of class collaboration into organs of class struggles!" Against this the Balham group revolted, branding such a slogan and such a course as "opportunistic!" In the statement of this group, published in the London "Daily Worker" of May 27, 1932, the Balham groups declares:

"The whole history of the trade unions, their past as well as their present, makes them unsuited to be effective organs of class struggle."

To this piece of wisdom our Trotskyite converts add some sage remarks about the necessity of discovering "new forms" of labor organization—quite in the approved style of the utopian sectarians whom Lenin castigated so sharply. And it is interesting to note that in making their case for ultra-leftism the spokesmen of the Balham group made effective use of the writings of R. P. Dutt (in the "Labor Monthly") who, just before the "turn", had attacked as the rankest opportunism any idea that the unions could be won for militancy!

The Balham group, in other



CARL SCHURZ, Reformer, by Claude Moore Fuess. Dodd, Mead and Company, New York, 1932.

Carl Schurz is a good example of the bourgeois reformer who just fell short of rising to the level of radicalism. Schurz stood in the front ranks of every important progressive movement of his time, from anti-slavery to anti-imperialism; yet we miss that note of power and depth that strikes us in the careers of such men as Sumner, Stevens, Garrison, Phillips, even Lincoln. He was a pillar of Radical Reconstruction, only to renounce his own views when steadfastness was most needed. He put up a courageous struggle against the wave of jingoism and imperialism that inundated the United States just before, during and after the Spanish War, but the quality of the anti-imperialism is to be judged from his astounding suggestion that the Philippines should be ceded to "some minor power", such as Belgium or Holland—in the face of Indonesia and the Congo! He consumed his inexhaustible energy and more than considerable talents in fighting for civil service reform, an extremely dubious "reform" at best, but the great issue of the last thirty years of his life, the labor question, found no sign of response in him: he supported the Tammany candidate, Abram S. Hewitt, against Henry George and actual-

words, broke with the party because it is even more sectarian than the sectarian C.P.G.B., because it objected to even the slightest correction of the ultra-leftist trade union line of the party. Is it not characteristic that this dyed-in-the-wool-sectarian group should immediately embrace Trotskyism, the gospel of die-hard sectarianism?

## WAS BORN TO BLUSH UNSEEN!

Jimmie Walker flees from the limelight on a little ship of over 25,000 tons with a lot of reporters on board, and planned to return with the same reports on the new 50,000-ton super-motor ship Rex on her maiden voyage. We get thousands of dollars of daily wireless reports: "Walker sunbathed and smiling paces deck—Walker smokes cigarette on bridge—Walker looks at the Azores—Walker poor sailor but reports for lunch—Walker smokes no cigarettes today—Indigestion keeps Walker in cabin—Wears green suit, green tie and ice cream shoes—Walker takes drink at Gibraltar."

"A violet by a mossy stone  
Half hidden from the eye!"  
such is "our Jimmie" in retirement.

ly attacked the Democratic convention of 1896 as "the triumph of . . . communism!" In short, he was a man with whom fads and reforms completely overshadowed great historical movements.

Mr. Fuess's utterly reactionary pro-Southern bias makes the book almost unreadable to any one who has a decent regard for the great traditions of the American people. He apologizes in a really disgusting manner for Schurz's radicalism in the early days of Reconstruction, the brightest and most meritorious phase of his whole career, but he emphasizes with great glee the later conversion to conservatism. He parades, in numberless petty ways, his insane hatred of the great Sumner but he devotes pages of eulogy to that sinister figure, Rutherford B. Hayes, who bought the Presidency at the expense of the liberty and hopes of the freedmen. He, in short, sees and writes history from the viewpoint of the modern "lily-white" apologist of the old slaveocracy, the modern representative of the despicable "dough-face."

X. Y. Z.

## With the Working Youth

### 6 Million Children Starving in U.S.A.

Over six million of the public school children of this country have not enough to eat, come to school starving, according to a report of the United States Public Health Service. "Many of them faint at their desks," the report continues, "while they are all a prey to disease and their future health is menaced."

And this in the United States of America—the richest country in the world, the record country of millionaires! Only a short time ago a government report called our attention to the hundreds of thousands of young boys and girls who were roaming the country, homeless, starving, shelterless. To these add the six million school children who come to school hungry, famished!

Hoover's heart "goes out to the children," who, he tells us, must be "our first care." But naturally their "rugged individualism" must be preserved! And, of course, any adequate relief would be "un-American!"

Compare the condition of the workers children in this country, the land of capitalism, with the condition of the workers children in the Soviet Union, the land of rising socialism. In the Soviet Union the children are really made the first care of society: adequate food, clothing, and shelter, education, recreation, the care of health, are guaranteed to every workers child. In the United States too the children will never come into their own until the murderous system of capitalism is ended.

### A PIONEER'S "NINE COMMANDMENTS"

In connection with the recent celebration all over the Soviet

Union of the tenth anniversary of the founding of the Pioneer organization, numbering about 6,000,000, a Moscow evening newspaper printed "The Nine Commandments of a Pioneer," as worked out by Slava Novikov, a 12-year-old boy. These commandments, which Slava keeps hanging over his bed and calls "The Plan of My Life," read as follows:

1. Get up at 7 o'clock.
2. Wash myself thoroughly, not forgetting to brush my teeth.
3. Do my school work under all circumstances.
4. Strengthen all my muscles.
5. Read books, of which 75 per cent are to be technical and 25 per cent stories.
6. In Summer, make a model of an airplane.
7. Go to the movies at least twice every ten days.
8. Have an agreement with mother.
9. Be a real builder of socialism.

NEW YORK CITY.—Because of the attempt of the college authorities to place the paper under censorship and subject to the jurisdiction of the Alumni Association for the purpose of suppressing its liberal character, the editors of "The Campus", official paper of the College of the City of New York, have resigned and have established a non-official college paper, "The City College Student". The first issue of this paper already outsold the official organ.

The revolt of the student editors has the support of the student body of C.C.N.Y. and other colleges of the city. The New York University paper, "The New York Daily News", has published an editorial defending the action of the resigned editors.

## WHAT WE STAND FOR

### Building a Communist Party in the U.S.A.

by Bertram D. Wolfe

#### QUESTION OF "EXCEPTIONALISM"

We continue below the series of articles by Bertram D. Wolfe, "What the Communist Opposition Stands For"

In the queer jargon that takes the place of intelligible English in upper party circles, the American Communist Opposition is denounced as "American exceptionalists."

If we understand what the party leaders are driving at, we plead guilty to the charge. Yes, we consider that conditions in America are different from conditions in Germany or Spain or the Soviet Union. We are more than "American exceptionalists." We are "exceptionalists" for every country of the world! And in pleading guilty to considering the conditions of each country different from those of the rest, peculiar, "exceptional", we are in good company—the company of Marx and Lenin.

The fundamental aims of the Communist movement are the same thruout the world—the overthrow of capitalism, the establishment of Soviet Power, the building of a socialist society. But the methods of reaching that goal, the tactics to be applied at a given moment, are different for each country and even for each stage of the struggle in a given country.

#### A WORLD OF ENDLESS VARIETY

The countries of the earth do not develop evenly, according to some utopian blueprint or mechanical formula. They have different histories, different traditions, different relations of class forces, different degrees of development; they are in different stages. There are "backward" countries and "advanced" countries; industrial lands and agricultural lands; advancing powers and declining powers; big nations and small nations; creditor countries and debtor countries; colonies and imperialist powers; backward working classes and advanced working classes, etc., etc. Those who would build a Communist movement in any country must know that country. They must adapt their tactics to the special conditions of that country. Else they will never build a Communist movement at all.

## LENIN THE EXCEPTIONALIST

Here is how Lenin answered the abstract pedants, the "infantile Communists" as he called them, who did not want to take into account the specific peculiarities, the concrete conditions, of each country:

"We must clearly realize that such a leading center (as the Communist International) can under no circumstances be built after a single model, by a mechanical uniformity and leveling of the tactical rules of struggle."

"So long as national and national-state differences exist between peoples and countries (and these differences will continue to exist for a very long time, even after the realization of the proletarian dictatorship on a world scale), the unity of the international tactics of the Communist labor movement everywhere demands, not the elimination of the varied national differences—this at the present moment is a foolish dream—but such an application of the fundamental principles of Communism (Soviet Power and the dictatorship of the proletariat) as would permit of the proper modification of these principles in particulars and their correct adaptation and application to national and national-state differences."

Again and again Lenin reminds us that the chief task of the scientific revolutionist or Communist in planning his strategy and tactics is:

"To investigate, study, ascertain, grasp, the nationally peculiar, nationally specific features in the concrete attempts of every country to solve the aspects of a single international problem. . ."

#### FOR AN AMERICAN COMMUNIST PARTY

In other words, slogans, solutions, proposals and tactics which are mechanically adopted for all countries at once, without regard to the peculiarities of each, are not likely to be good for any of them.

A party that wants to sink its roots in American soil must understand American political and economic conditions. If it wants to influence and lead the American workers, it must speak their language, understand how to solve their problems, make proposals that meet their needs, embodied in slogans adjusted to their development and understanding. This is not nationalism—it is the only true internationalism, for only by such methods can the Communist International develop a powerful American section, only thus can the aims of the working class be served in America, or in any other country on the face of the earth.

The leaders of the official Communist Party of the United States have their feet in America but their heads in Europe. Their speeches deal with the problems of the Soviet workers and forget the problems of the American workers. Foster writes a book "Towards

Soviet America" which might as well have been written on Mars for all the reflection of American realities that can be found in it. The latest slogans of the German Communist Party, often wrong even for Germany, are immediately imported into the United States. The German workers are in mortal combat with Fascism, so our party tells the bewildered American workers about Fascism and "social-fascism" in America. Not having a Hitler around at the moment it makes a "social-fascist" out of John Dewey or V. F. Calverton! The Soviet Union has shock troops. The next day the American party has "shock troops." The Soviet Union tries to speed up production by "socialist competition" between one factory and another. The next day the "American" leaders are telling the American workers to enter into "socialist competition." Because the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has behind it the majority of the working class, the American leaders talk and act as if our little party had the majority of the working class behind it, refuse to form united fronts with other parties (there are no other parties in the Soviet Union), denounce the millions that our party has to win, and set up artificial barriers between the Communists and the mass of the American working class. Because the fight in America is hard and long, they substitute dreams about what is happening in the Soviet Union and try to keep their followers in a perpetual daze that will blind them to the weaknesses and failures of the American party. By long gazes on the splendor of the rising sun of the Russian Revolution, the leaders of the American party have become blinded to the murky realities of America and all the party's tactics are carried on in an atmosphere of unreality that has nothing to do with the situation and problems of the country in which it is trying to function. The Communist Party (Opposition) draws inspiration from the achievements of the Russian Revolution, but remembers that those achievements were the work of the Russian working class led by the most realistic Communist Party of the world, the Bolshevik party of Lenin. It proposes to imitate the methods of Lenin not parroting, but analysis of American realities, and the making of the Communist Party of the United States into what it was rapidly becoming before the change of line in 1929—an American Communist Party speaking to the American working class in its own language, of its own problems, and proposing tactics and slogans appropriate to the present relation of class forces and present political and economic realities in this country, so as to lead the working class of the United States forward on the road to the achievement of its own historic destiny, the overthrow of the most powerful master class in history and the conquest of America by the American workers for themselves and for the workers of the world!

NEXT ISSUE: THE TRADE UNION QUESTION



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## THE LYTTON COMMISSION REPORT

THAT the Lytton report is a big victory for Yankee imperialism in the Far East is obvious on the face of it. In spite of certain minor "concessions" to Japan, the policy followed by Tokyo for the last several years is sharply condemned along almost the same lines as was taken by Washington in its recent diplomatic not. The dropping of the Manchukuo fraud, the return of the three Manchurian provinces, with "autonomy", to the "sovereignty" of the Chinese "national" government, the puppet of Wall Street, and all that this implies, are precisely what the United States Department has been insisting upon all the time. It is not surprising, therefore, that the Japanese government is so violently wrought up by the Lytton report, that it is so categorical in rejecting it as diametrically opposed to its policy, which is "irrevocable." The bitter and unappeasable antagonisms between the rival imperialism of the United States and Japan were never so clear or so sharp as today.

The striking thing about the whole affair is the success the United States has had in forcing thru a unanimous report, that is, in swinging Great Britain, hesitant and undecided, into line, at least temporarily, and in spiking the opposition of France. For both of these powers were, and are, more or less definitely pro-Japanese, France decidedly so; both were anti-American. What "inducements" Wall Street had to use are not known but the result is certainly in no doubt. It would be a mistake, however, to believe that, because the report is unanimous, there is harmony among the three powers. Nothing of the sort! Having given formal assent to the report, both Downing Street and the Quai d'Orsay are busily scheming how to destroy its entire effectiveness. The "London Times" is "afraid" the recommendations are not "practicable", while the French press is more than sceptical, indeed openly hostile. Here too the mutual antagonisms among the imperialist powers are flaring up with renewed violence.

The extraordinary tone of polite consideration with which the Soviet Union is treated in the report is not merely the usual sanctimonious hypocrisy of the imperialist diplomats; it is a really remarkable tribute to the adroit foreign policy of the Soviet State and to the firm determination to defend their socialist fatherland heroically manifested by the masses of the Soviet toilers. The danger of an imperialist attack upon the Soviet Union is far from past; with the triumph of Wall Street it rises in a new and even more menacing form.

It is clear that the superficial harmony hides a sharp aggravation of the forces that are driving the imperialist powers at each others throats and the whole world into a new, incredibly fearful war. The precarious condition of the League of Nations, precisely as a result of the "unanimous" report, is an indication in this direction. The only way out of the fearful butchery in store for mankind is to cut thru the murderous tangle of imperialist diplomacy with the sharp sword of proletarian revolution.

## VOICES OUT OF THE DEAD PAST

MANY readers must have noticed the story, in the "N. Y. Herald-Tribune" and widely copied, that work on the Soviet film recently went to the U.S.S.R., was suddenly stopped in order to "placate" the American government. Of what account is it to these "gentlemen of the press" that it has been officially declared by the purely technical and only temporary (work will be resumed in the Spring), of what account is it that practically all of the group that went across have issued statements to the same effect, of what account is it to point out that this Soviet film was projected precisely at the height of the Far Eastern crisis when it was most of all desirable to "placate" the United States? It is a "good" story, especially in view of the growing sentiment for the Soviet Union among the Negro people of this country.

But even this is a mere nothing. The Kingston, Jamaica (British West Indies), "Daily Gleaner" of September 3, 1932, reprints a Reval cablegram of the notorious Reuter "news" agency, in which the Communist International is made to announce to the world at large: "The inherent ignorance of the colored races makes their unity impossible. . . . Therefore it is more advisable at present for their unity impossible. turn their attention to the European proletariat, which is more enlightened, instead of wasting time and money in a futile endeavor to enlighten born fools." This pitifully crude forgery, which "our own" crassest contradiction to every word and deed of the Communists, is "suppression" of the Soviet-Negro film. The same number of the "Daily Gleaner" out-Reuters Reuter in an astounding editorial, "Not less reaction, has really never been matched even in the gutter press. The mad fury of invective of these spiteless pen-lackeys of the aristocratic British slave-drivers only reflects their desperate terror before the onward sweep of the great ideas of the Communist revolution among the downtrodden colored masses of the earth.

These are indeed voices out of the dead past! It will take more than lying squibs in New York papers, crude forgeries in Reuter dispatches, or ignorant ravings in reactionary Jamaica sheets to stem the tide of rebellion now rapidly rising among the many millions of colonial slaves and oppressed peoples in all quarters of the globe!

EIGHT

## Put an End to Monster Of Capitalism

A Burning Appeal Of Clara Zetkin

In every capitalist state many thousands fall on the battlefield of labor every year. Every year brings its toll of dead, of hundreds of thousands crippled and injured and deprived of their working capacity for a period or for life.

This state of society, based on exploitation, costs more in human lives yearly, in times of peace, than the greatest and bloodiest revolutions have ever cost.

To these victims must be added the millions and millions of dead, crippled, and diseased, from the battlefields of imperialist war. Capitalism is that monster of the Greek legend, which fed on human flesh with insatiable greed.

Comrades, friends. You have no mercy to expect at the hands of this cannibalistic system, no hope of understanding for your sufferings, either bodily or mental, no pity for your distress.

Only the militant united front of the exploited and down-trodden, taking up the fight against capitalism, can secure the rights of the victims of this system!

Capitalism is forcing fresh millions of unhappy victims to share your hard fate. The merciless drive of capitalist rationalization, combined with reduced wages and salaries and worsened conditions hurry these victims to the sick bed and to the grave. Cold and hunger decimate the ranks of the unemployed.

World capitalism is preparing for a fresh massacre of the peoples, and is organizing imperialist war against the Soviet Union. In all capitalist states Fascism is the

accomplice of capitalism; Fascism aids capitalism to realize its limitless desire for plunder and exploitation of the toilers, its unscrupulous plans of war and of invasion of the Soviet Union.

Nothing but the serried ranks of the united front of the militant proletariat, ready for any sacrifice can ward off the approaching disaster. Join this united front, you victims of the battlefields of labor and of imperialist war. The cause of your healthy brothers and sisters—and how long will they still be healthy?—is your cause, and your cause is theirs.

In the armies of the fighters you must be there too, you millions of crippled and sick, of widows, orphans, and destitute parents, you, too, must come forward with your arraignment before the capitalist system of society. Prove that capitalism, tho it may cripple and weaken your bodies, cannot kill your spirit.

Fight for a different fate for the victims of the battlefields of labor and of imperialist war! Fight against the fresh advance of the exploiters, determined to press even more profits out of the toilers! Fight in defense of peace and for security of the Soviet State now building up socialism!

Fight against Fascism, the unscrupulous servant of international trustified financial capital. Fight, fight inexorably against the cannibalistic monster of capitalism!

Victims of capitalism, this struggle decides your present and your future. Forward in the fight!



## Lost And Found Column

Lost, strayed or stolen: Seventh World Congress of the Communist International; due in Moscow around the middle of 1930 and not heard from yet: finder please call Kremlin 30-50; no questions asked if returned in good condition to WORLD PROLETARIAT.

## Communist Leg Plot Exposed

Egg dealers, tailors and artificial leg makers appeared before the Shannon committee created by Congress to investigate government competition with private business.

George E. Marx, not related to Karl, appeared on behalf of his fellow artificial leg manufacturers to protest the government's leg-shop at Base Hospital 81. "That's Communism," said Marx.

He had nothing to say about the government's entering into the business of creating a market for artificial legs during the late world war, but insisted that the government should get out of the leg business in peace time.

## To Thine Ownself Be True . . .

Senator James J. Davis, millionaire working man and ex-Secretary of Labor, loyalist Moose of all the Loyal Order of Moose, than which no animal is loyaler, has appropriated the modest sum of \$127,418 from the proceeds of a Moose lottery for charity. Evidently the Senator takes in earnest the adage: "Charity begins at home."

Now we understand the pronouncements of the former Secretary of Labor on prosperity: Feb. 14, 1930: "Let us be thankful we are getting back on our feet." \$127,418 would help anybody back onto his feet!

## New Realty Developments

When Stalin named a town after himself, Hoover was jealous. Now for every Stalingrad in Russia there are a hundred Hoovers in the U. S. A.

The difference is that Stalingrad is a growing industrial town of steel and concrete while Hooverville is made of packing-cards and tin cans.

## Pinning It On Them

It took the Department of Justice twenty-four hours to find that 1099 of the B.E.F. participants had criminal record and more than four years to pin one on Al Capone.

The favorite crime was vagrancy. A tenth of the population of the nation can plead guilty.

Lobbyists have no business coming to Washington without cash anyway.

Hoover is a Quaker and didn't want to throw stones so he transformed the old adage into: "Ask for bread and receive a gas bomb."

Hoover made himself so popular with the boys that he's seeking re-election now because he's afraid to leave the White House.

## We Need Something New

In his telegram of congratulation to Weber and Fields Hoover said that what the country needs is a "resoundingly good joke." Weber and Fields wired back, "Hoover is good enough for us."

He told Rudy Vallee that the country needed a new song and to a literary visitor he confided that the country needs a new poem to cheer us up.

The Democrats are encouraged to suggest that the country needs a new administration. But what the country really needs is a new social system.

—B. D. W.

## New Workers School

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## FALL TERM - 1932

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